The Principia.

First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

VOL. II.—NO. 11. NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1861. WHOLE NUMBER 63.

The Principia

Published Weekly at [illegible] Pearl Street, two doors above Harpers' Buildings, New York.

William [illegible], Editor.

[illegible] Wilson, Treasurer.

TERMS: [illegible] in advance.

[illegible] with remittances to

M[illegible] B. Williams, Publishing Agent, as above.

PROSPECTUS.

[illegible]

SPEECH OF SENATOR SEWARD.

We regret our inability to publish Mr Seward's speech entire. But most of our readers will have seen it in other papers, and we copy all that is essential to show the position he now occupies in respect to "the irrepressible conflict."

Near the beginning of his speech, he says:

"I think it is easy to pronounce what measures or conduct will not save the Union. I agree with the honorable Senator from North Carolina, (Mr. Clingman,) that mere eulogiums will not save it. Yet I think that as prayer brings us nearer to God, though it cannot move Him toward us, so there is healing and saving virtue in every word of devotion to the Union that is spoken and in every sigh that its danger draws forth. I know, at least, that, like virtue, it derives strength from every irreverent act that is committed and every blasphemous phrase that is uttered against it.

The Union cannot be saved by mutual criminations concerning our respective share of responsibility for the present evils. He whose conscience acquits him will naturally be slow to accuse others whose co-operation he needs. History only can adjust the [illegible] account.

A continuance of the debate on the constitutional power of Congress over the subject of Slavery in the Territories will not save the Union. The opinions of parties and sections on that question have become dogmatical, and it is this circumstance that has produced the existing alienation. A truce at least during the [illegible] on the Union, is essential to [illegible]n.

The Union cannot be saved by proving that secession is illegal or [illegible]. Persons bent on that fearful [illegible] will not stand long enough on forms of law to be dislodged, and loyal men do not need such narrow ground to stand upon.

I fear that little more will be gained from discussing the right of the Federal Government to [illegible] seceding States [illegible]. If [illegible] go on, the question will give place at the more practical one, whether every seceding State have a right [illegible] to [illegible] dissolution.

I dread, as [illegible], civil war. I do not know what the Union would be worth if saved by the use of the sword. Yet, for [illegible], I do not agree with those who [illegible] to avert that [illegible] a [illegible] with a view to [illegible]. It is enough for me [illegible] in this case [illegible] the [illegible] by which the hopes of the [illegible] held [illegible] in [illegible].

[illegible] edy. But [illegible] that there be [illegible] on the [illegible] strike [illegible] apt [illegible] own [illegible] a [illegible] sacrifice [illegible]

pate future exigencies, even if they do not assume extra-constitutional powers, are less sure to avert imminent evils than they are certain to produce ultimately even greater dangers.

Indeed, Mr President, I think it will be wise to discard two prevalent ideas or prejudices, namely, first, that the Union is to be saved by somebody in particular, and secondly that it is to be saved by some cunning and insincere compact of pacification. If I remember rightly, I said something like this here as long ago as 18[illegible], and afterwards in 18[illegible].

The present danger discloses itself in this form: Discontented citizens have obtained political power in certain States, and they are using this authority to overthrow the Federal Government."

Another of his paragraphs is the following:

"Our country remains now as it was in 1787—composed not of detached and distant territories, but of one whole well-conducted and fertile region lying within the temperate zone, with climates and soils hardly more various than those of France or of Italy. This slight diversity quickens and simplifies manufacture and commerce. Our rivers and valleys, as improved by art, furnish us a system of highways unequaled in the world. *The different forms of labor, if slavery were not perverted to purposes of political ambition, need not constitute an element of strife in the Confederacy.*"

The great body of the speech is a dissuasive from disunion.

The portion containing his proposals of measures for *preventing* disunion, is the following:

"Beyond a doubt, Union is vitally important to the Republican citizen of the United States, but it is just as important to the whole people. Republicanism and Union are, therefore, not convertible terms. Republicanism is subordinate to Union, as everything else is and ought to be—Republicanism, Democracy, every other political name and thing; all are subordinate—and they ought to disappear in the presence of the great question of Union. So far as I am concerned, it shall be so; it should be so if the question were sure to be tried as it ought only to be determined, by the peaceful ordeal of the ballot. It shall be so all the more since there is on one side preparedness to refer it to the arbitrament of civil war. I have such faith in this republican system of ours, that there is no political good which I desire, that I am not content to seek through its peaceful forms of administration without invoking revolutionary action. If others shall invoke that form of action, to oppose and overthrow Government, they shall not, so far as it depends on me, have the excuse that I obstinately left myself to be misunderstood. In such a case I can afford to meet prejudice with conciliation, exaction with concession which surrenders no principle, and violence with the right hand of peace. Therefore, Sir, so far as the abstract question whether by the Constitution of the United States the bondsman who is made such by the laws of the State is still a man or only property, I answer that within the State, its laws on that subject are supreme; that when he has escaped from that State into another, the Constitution regards him as a bondsman who may not by any law or regulation of that State, be discharged from his service, but shall be delivered up on claim, to the party to whom his service is due. While prudence and justice would [illegible] in [illegible] you to modify the acts of Congress [illegible] so as not to oblige private persons to assist in their execution, and to protect freemen from being by abuse of the laws carried into slavery, I agree that all laws of the States, whether Free States or Slave States, which relate to [illegible] or any other [illegible] or [illegible] which laws contravene the Constitution of the United States, or any other law of Congress passed in conformity thereto, ought to be repealed.

Secondly—Experience in public affairs has [illegible] against the domestic slavery existing in any State is wholly left by the Constitution of the United States, exclusively to the care, management, and disposition of that State; and if it were in my power, I would not alter the Constitution in that respect. If misapprehension of my position [illegible] a [illegible], I am willing to vote for an amendment of the Constitution declaring that it shall not, by any future amendment, be so altered as to confer on Congress a power to abolish or to interfere with slavery in any State.

Thirdly—While I think that Congress has exclusive and sovereign authority to legislate on all subjects whatever in the common Territories of the United States, and while I certainly shall never directly or indirectly give my vote to establish or sanction slavery in such Territories, or anywhere else in the world, yet the question what constitutional laws shall at any time be passed in regard to the Territories is like every other question, to be determined on practical grounds. I voted for enabling acts in the cases of Oregon, Minnesota and Kansas, without being able to secure in them provisions as I would have preferred, and yet I voted wisely. So now, I [illegible] will [illegible] under existing circumstances, a happy and satisfactory solution of the difficulties in the other Territories would be obtained by similar laws, providing for their organization, if such organizations were otherwise practicable. If, therefore, Kansas were admitted as a State, under the Wyandotte Constitution, as I think she ought to be, and if the organic laws of all the other Territories could be repealed, I could vote to authorize the organization and admission of two new States which should include them, reserving the right to effect subdivisions of them whenever necessary, into several convenient States; but I do not find that such reservations could be constitutionally made. Without them the ulterior embarassments which would result from the hasty incorporation of States of such vast extent, and various interests and character would outweigh all the immediate advantages of such a measure. But if the measure were practicable, I should prefer a different course, namely, when the eccentric movements of secession and disunion shall have ended, in whatever form that end may come, and the angry excitements of the hour shall have subsided, and calmness once more shall have resumed its accustomed sway over the public mind, then, and not until then—one, two or three years hence—I should cheerfully advise a Convention of the people, to be assembled in pursuance of the Constitution, to consider and decide whether any and what amendments of the organic national laws ought to be made. A Republican now—as I have heretofore been a member of other parties existing in my day—I nevertheless hold and cherish, as I have always done, the principle that this Government exists in its present form, only by the consent of the governed, and that it is as necessary as it is wise, to resort to the people for revisions of the organic law when the troubles and dangers of the State certainly transcend the power delegated by it to the public authorities. Nor ought the suggestion to excite surprise. Government in any form is a machine; this is the most complex one that the mind of man has ever invented, or the hand of man has ever framed. Perfect as it is, it ought to be expected that it will, at least, [illegible] in a century require some modifications to adapt it to the changes of society and alterations of empire.

Fourthly—I hold myself ready now, as always heretofore, to vote for any properly-guarded laws which shall be deemed necessary to prevent mutual invasions of States by citizens of other States and punish those who shall aid and abet them.

Fifthly—Notwithstanding the arguments of the gallant Senator from Oregon (Gen. Lane), I remain of the opinion that physical bonds, such as highways, rivers, railroads and [illegible] are vastly more powerful for holding civil communities together than any mere covenants, though written upon parchment or recorded upon brass. I [illegible] therefore [illegible] to any purpose to [illegible] the construction of two Pacific railways, one of which shall connect the ports around the mouths of the Mississippi, and the other the towns on the Missouri and the lakes, with the harbors on our Western coast.

If, in the expression of these views, I have not proposed what is desired or demanded by many, [illegible] will do me the justice to believe that I am as far from having any [illegible] what [illegible] would have [illegible] by with [illegible] of my own. [illegible] from [illegible] that he [illegible] is [illegible] which [illegible]. [illegible] we must [illegible] the [illegible]. We [illegible] know what we [illegible] we [illegible] country and the good that we [illegible].

Having submitted my own opinions on this great crisis, it remains only to say that I shall cheerfully lend to the [illegible] any [illegible] which it shall [illegible] to preserve the public peace and to maintain and preserve the Union, advising only that it [illegible] as far as possible the utmost moderation, forbearance and conciliation.

LETTER TO SENATOR SEWARD.

To Hon. William H. Seward:

Sir,—I make no apology for the liberty I am taking in addressing you on the subject of your recent speech in the Senate of the United States. Being myself, as you are, a native citizen of the State of New York, having been interested, during [illegible], the [illegible] of the Missouri Compromise [illegible] irrepressible conflict between American slavery and American freedom, for nearly thirty years, devoting a large share of my attention and labors to that struggle, I cannot have been an indifferent spectator of the public course you have taken on the same question. What that course has been, should now be understood, in its connection with the goal to which it is now found to have conducted you.

ANTECEDENTS OF THE SPEECH.

A proper review and appreciation of your late speech will require a review of its antecedents. It is not impossible that the friends of human freedom may have expected from you much *more* than they ever had any reason to expect. On the other hand, it may nevertheless be true that they had a right to expect more and better things of you than they have now received at your hands.

Your general course, though differing vitally in my own view from that which the exigencies of the cause required, has nevertheless given you a high place in the esteem and confidence of the great body of my associates and fellow-laborers in the common cause, and has secured for your name a world-wide celebrity among the "champions of freedom." To no one prominent statesman, more than to yourself, have abolitionists looked for the political influences and measures, that they have hoped would, in the end, bring about the consummation they desired. They have believed that if your course would not directly and speedily result in the abolition of slavery, it would, at least, tend powerfully in that direction, and place them as friends of freedom, on a high vantage ground, from whence they could not be dislodged—that having gained first, what you and your associates proposed to secure, it would then be more easy—especially if, as they hoped, you and your political party would then advance with them—to achieve the deliverance of their country and of the enslaved, from "the vilest" oppression that, (to use the language of John Wesley) ever saw the sun."

In this connection I may be permitted to add, that to no political influences and support more really and vitally than to those of the free colored voters and their friends, the abolitionists, have you been indebted for your political elevation, first to the Gubernatorial chair of this State, and then to your seat in the Senate of the United States. For although these may have formed but a small minority of those who have voted for you, they have been sufficient, as you doubtless are aware, *first* to secure your *selection*, by your own party as their candidate, in preference to rival competitors in the same party, whether Whig or Republican, and *second*, for that "balance of power" that has enabled your party—whether Whig or Republican—to outvote the Democratic party, a victory achieved in no small degree by withdrawing from your support the votes of numerous abolitionists and free-soilers originally connected with the Democratic party, and then leaving it only for the purpose of freeing themselves from the support of slavery and slavery extension.

I will frankly say that my own vote has seldom or never been cast for you, belonging, as I do, to the number of those who have conscientiously planted themselves upon a higher political platform than you have ever adventured to stand upon before your fellow citizens.

I will not attribute to you the low cunning of the selfish politician, in fixing your standard precisely where you have fixed it. It may have been your good fortune, like that of one of the pilgrims described by John Bunyan, to "jump in your judgment with the times," without designing it. But should I [illegible] supposition that at a certain point of your political progress, a consultation of your [illegible] friends should have [illegible] the question whether your anti-slavery had [illegible] your [illegible] I [illegible] dream [illegible] John Bunyan [illegible] I heard you saying—"Gentlemen, I understand what I am about. So far as I have gone [illegible] it was [illegible]. Had I gone another step, it would have wrecked me."—And now, on awakening from my dream, and reading your late speech in the Senate, I might have [illegible] to myself, whether you had not [illegible] step [illegible] in the opposite direction.

Your skill, or your good fortune has been very remarkable, hitherto; for although you missed the nomination to the Presidency, by your "irrepressible conflict" speech at Rochester, and the opposition of Horace Greeley, yet that speech saved to your party the State election, the necessary prestige of the Presidential canvass, by withdrawing from Gov. Morgan the 40 or 50,000 Abolition votes which the *Herald, Times, Tribune, Evening Post* and Albany *Journal*, had commended to the abolition candidate Gerrit Smith. And then, by your "conservative" speech in the Senate, the last session, you so far redeemed the "conservative" character of your party, as to secure to Mr Lincoln, if not to yourself, the vote of Pennsylvania, and other conservative sections of the country. And now, if the Republican journals are rightly informed, you are selected to occupy the post of Premier in the Administration of Mr Lincoln, and are expected more than any other man to give direction to its counsels and shape to its policy.

Such sir, are some of the antecedents to your recent speech, that give it, in addition to its inherent weight, an unwonted importance, in the eyes of abolitionists, in the sight of the Republican party, of the nation, and of the civilized world. To *you*, sir, more than to any other man living, have all men looked for the signal flag of the American future, the key note of the incoming administration, the policy of the Republican party in power, the relative position of slavery and of freedom, the issues of the "irrepressible conflict" between them, in the triumph of the one, and the overthrow of the other, for ages to come.

Think, Sir, for one moment, of the trusts that the friends of freedom had confided to you and to your party—of the responsibilities that you and your party have assumed—of the professions of attachment to American liberty, and consequently, of hostility to American slavery, that have brought yourself and your party into power, in a time like this.

Remember, how old and tried leaders of the anti-slavery sentiment that has elevated you and your party, have been brushed aside to make room for you—"men who had hazarded their lives," expended their fortunes, and pledged their sacred honor, in the cause—men not less capable than yourself and your associates, to take charge of the public interests of the nation, because the people who have elevated you, were led, from the burning words that fell from your own lips, as well as from the assurances of your friends, to believe that *you* reverenced the "*higher law*" as *they* reverenced it, that *you* were engaged in the "*irrepressible conflict*" as *they* themselves were engaged in it, that you were intent on wresting the sceptre of unrighteous dominion from the hands of the petty oligarchy constituting thorough prevailing servility, the "*slave power*," as *they* were intent upon it, that you, like themselves and the veteran pioneers of abolition, were determined to make the soil of your country "*free soil*," to establish everywhere, "free speech," to recognize everywhere "*free men*."

Such Sir, are the influences that have elevated you to the post you now occupy. Such were the influences that have carried for your party, the Presidential election.—I do not deny nor forget that other and adverse influences have been incongruously and [illegible] combined with these. But you know, the nation knows, that the anti-slavery sentiment of America,—yes—the Abolition sentiment of America, has formed the nucleus, the great staple of the Republican party, has furnished its motive power, has swelled its sails, has kindled its fires, has generated its steam, has impelled it onward. Your orators who have stumped the country, have well understood this and have harangued the populace accordingly. In the most "conservative" sections of the country—yes—even in Pennsylvania, and among its democracy, freedom, as in opposition to slavery, has been the available theme. This statement is not to be invalidated by [illegible] disclaimers of your platform, and [illegible] of any design to interfere, by Federal action, with the slavery already existing in the slave States. [illegible] with this disclaimer the press and the popular [illegible] have carried to the people [illegible] methods, and specially the [illegible] and [illegible] slavery [illegible] by the Republican party [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] itself. This [illegible] was between slavery and freedom, that won the [illegible] elected Abraham Lincoln. This is known throughout the free States, where the most [illegible] anti-slavery [illegible] of the Republican orators, the most scathing denunciations of slavery, [illegible] by any abolition lecturers in the country, have everywhere, in city and country, in the villages and among the yeomanry, in the churches, in the public halls and in the open air, drawn down the [illegible] thunders of popular applause. Europe knows it. Abolitionists in England know it, and exult accordingly in the success of your Republican party. The slaveholders of the South know it, and therefore notwithstanding your disclaimers, they are enraged.

Your disclaimers—your prudent, conservative disclaimers—have availed you nothing, and were entitled to avail you nothing, in a way of silencing the clamors of the slaveholders. If regarded sincere, they only betrayed your weakness, your inconsistency, your lack of principle, of discrimination, of manly courage, and thus emboldened them to rebel. If considered insincere, they only excited the greater indignation. If resorted to as an artifice for effecting, indirectly and stealthily, what was not dared to be openly avowed, then, too, the necessary effect would be to mingle contempt and hatred with indignation. In neither case was it possible for you to touch the consciences, or to win the moral respect of the slaveholders. On the contrary, you only helped to sear their consciences, to make them believe your designs sinister, selfish, ambitious and sectional, instead of patriotic, philanthropic, humane and Christian.

Of all this you were forewarned by abolitionists. But you would not hear, and now it has come upon you. And what shall be done?

OF THE SPEECH ITSELF.

The speech of WILLIAM H. SEWARD was expected to answer that question, and tell what shall be done. That speech has been made, has gone out before the country, and what impression has it produced? Who has learned from it, what shall be done? On all hands it is admitted to be the most finished and elaborate of all your public speeches. On all hands, I believe, it is confessed that it has disappointed the expectations of your friends, and of the public. It exhorts the people to be united, but shows them no practicable way in which unity can be effected. Its closing part is like the closing chapter of Dr. Johnson's *Rasselas*, and might well have been entitled, like his, "*The conclusion in which nothing is concluded.*" And like Rasselas, you are for returning back again to the despotism from which you had attempted to escape.

Your one idea is that there must need be Union, in order to national prosperity. But into your idea of national prosperity there seems to have entered an overwhelming preponderance of the *materialistic*, the *pecuniary*, along with the national respectability, power, rank and glory growing out of such prosperity. Of the "rights of the poor" of the people, of their civil and religious liberty, the rights of the four millions of the oppressed, the weak, the feeble, the despised—of their elevation as an element or [illegible] as a condition of national prosperity, you say nothing.

The idea that "righteousness exalteth a nation," that [illegible] of oppression, of unpaid labor, of enforced concubinage, of compulsory ignorance and heathenism [illegible] that such a system [illegible] protected and sheltered by the nation, is a reproach to any people—is an idea that seems not to have entered into the composition of your [illegible], at all.

And accordingly I look over [illegible] in vain [illegible] any expression [illegible] recognition of the favor of God, [illegible] of the [illegible] of [illegible] al [illegible], in the "exe[illegible] of justice between [illegible] an element [illegible] a [illegible] of national prosperity. In a time of national perplexity and calamity when even President Buchanan calls upon the people for fasting and prayer, William H. Seward calls upon them neither for obedience nor for prayer, for repentance, or works meet for repentance as a condition or means of [illegible] unity and prosperity. The [illegible] and [illegible] of God are [illegible] Sir, [illegible] your speech and the [illegible] to infer that [illegible] will [illegible]

whether they are united in doing justice and working righteousness, or whether they are united in despising the poor, reproaching their Maker, and thus practically saying "There is no God."

A single paragraph of your speech may serve to illustrate and confirm what I have just said.

Our country remains now as it was in 1787 [illegible] out of [illegible] and [illegible] systems of [illegible] in the world. [illegible]

The plain import of this is, then, in the first place, so far as the elements of material or pecuniary prosperity are concerned and taken from "purposes of political ambition," it is altogether a matter of indifference whether the half or even a larger portion of the soil of the nation be cultivated by slaves or by freemen. If this be true, what becomes of the doctrine of the Free Soil and Republican parties, that slavery must not be extended into new States and Territories because it curses the soil with the blight and mildew of slave labor?

What becomes of the ground for an "irrepressible conflict" between free and slave labor? Why, in this same speech do you approvingly advert to that form of opposition to slavery that "seeks to resist the entrance of slavery into territories yet unknown?" [an opposition, by the bye, which in this very speech you seem to have relinquished.] Is it the design of this paragraph to confirm the charge of the slaveholders that "the element of strife in the Confederacy" is nothing but "political ambition"—a mere "sectional" struggle between the aspiring politicians of the North and of the South?

In the *second* place, this paragraph plainly expresses the sentiment, that "if slavery were not perverted for purposes of political ambition" the fact of the continued and perpetual enslavement of the laboring population, the cultivators of the soil, in one half or a larger portion of the Republic—the extinction of civil and religious liberty, so far as *they* are concerned, "need not constitute an element of strife in the Confederacy." Is it William H. Seward, the son of a plain Orange County farmer, inured to the cultivation of the soil, who says this, in the hearing of the hard working farmers of Orange County and of the whole North and North-West—well knowing, as does William H. Seward, that honest manual labor is, with the slaveholders, the badge of degradation and inferiority, that the slave system every where degrades free labor, that the principles, the practice and the claims of slaveholders do not confine slavery to race or complexion, but distinctly affirm the laboring population, white or colored, just fit to be made slaves?

But what can you mean by the phrase—"if slavery were not *perverted* for purposes of political ambition?" How can the holding of millions of human beings as slaves be "*perverted*" to such a purpose? For what purpose, so much as for this, is the slave system maintained? [illegible] slaveholders in general, including Gov. Wise, are free to admit the unprofitableness of slave labor. And how can there be such a thing as the holding of [illegible] ... Is not the present condition of things at Washington [illegible] William H. Seward himself [illegible]

In this very connection, [illegible] "[illegible] what you please shall be [illegible]" How [illegible] involved [illegible] in your speech the following?

[illegible] appear [illegible] the presence of the great question of Union [illegible] are concerned, it would be an &c.

By "Republicanism," in this paragraph, you must mean either the principles and institutions of Republicanism in general, or of [illegible] in particular, or the distinctive principles, objects and measures of the Republican party to which you belong. In fact, you must mean all the above. [illegible] And you would by no means [illegible] that the latter is [illegible] of the two former.

So, then, you are ready, it seems, to give up the principles and institutions of Republicanism—the free institutions of your country, and the distinctive objects, aims and measures of your Republican party, *for the sake of Union*; in other words for [illegible] from the slaveholders [illegible] the possession of the Capitol, the White House, the Offices of the Departments, the Navy Yard, &c. and other spoils [illegible] the administration of the National Government. If your speech does not mean this, I cannot perceive that it means anything, or that it is, in any manner appropriate to the occasion, or adapted to produce the pacification you propose.

Another paragraph, near the close of your speech, expresses the same [illegible] submission and confirms and illustrates your meaning. That paragraph I need not repeat at length as it is included in the extracts from your speech in this paper. Anticipating the complaints which your constituents would make of your concessions, you tell them they are not to understand you as having proposed all that you would have desired. But you had "learned from Jefferson that, in political affairs, we cannot always do what seems to us absolutely best."

We must be content to lead when we can, and to follow when we cannot lead; and if we cannot at any time do for our country all the good that we wish, we must be satisfied with doing for her all the good that we can.

To which you might have added the proverb—"If the mountain will not come to Mohammed, then Mohammed shall come to the mountain."

Are we to understand, then, that, although your preferences are for truth, justice, equity, humanity, and human freedom, you nevertheless hold them as mere preferences, to be relinquished, for the opposite, for the sake of Union? That, if you cannot succeed, as you could wish, in the establishment of the right and of righteousness, you will give your consent and co-operation to the wrong—the iniquitous? Or would you have it to be understood that you ignore these altogether, in the sphere of politics, and view every political measure, even the most vital, the question of slavery or of freedom, in the light of advantage or disadvantage, of profit or of loss, of material prosperity, or the absence of it, irrespective of moral right or wrong? What other construction, under the surrounding circumstances, can be given, of your language? In the light of your concessions, in detail, which remain yet to be considered, how much less than all this do your concessions include?

The Union, you tell us, "cannot be saved by eulogiums," though the greater part of your speech consists in such eulogium. It "cannot be saved by mutual criminations"—by casting the blame on slavery, where it belongs. It "cannot be saved" by a continuance of the debate on the constitutional power of slavery over the Territories"—or by proving that secession is illegal and unconstitutional, or that it is the right of the federal government to [illegible] the States [illegible] "Compromises, compromises!" you [illegible] likely to save the Union. [illegible]

which it is said are beginning to [illegible] you would [illegible] Not so the [illegible] John Quincy Adams [illegible] Look at them, Mr. Seward, and see the depths to which you have descended [illegible] time to tremble [illegible]

1. *Of the Territories.* The [illegible] pledge, the promise of a National guaranty of freedom and prohibition of slavery in the Territories [illegible] was the watch-word of the Republican party, four years ago. Where is it now? [illegible] in your speech, connected with [illegible] convention to alter the Constitution [illegible] of freedom, but of slavery. Your sentiments concerning the Territories are so complex and involved that I have been unable—and have found no one who is able—to disentangle their meaning farther than this, that without relinquishing your *preference* for freedom in the Territories, and while you will not give your vote to institute and establish it there, you say nothing of giving your vote to exclude or prohibit it there. You have "voted" for enabling acts to organize Oregon, Minnesota and Kansas, without being able to procure the exclusion of slavery from them. You intimate your satisfaction with those votes and your readiness to vote in like manner again. You would be willing to vote for dividing territories between slavery and freedom, but do not find that it could be Constitutionally done. You therefore "cheerfully advise" a convention of the people to consider and decide whether *the Constitution* shall not be so altered as to meet the case, and enable you thus to vote! Is this, Sir, to be the bottom line of all the agitation of the country by the Republican party? Is it for this, that scores and hundreds of thousands of [illegible] men [illegible] voted for Fremont and for Lincoln—a large portion of them against [illegible] principles [illegible] against the party pledges [illegible] your speech [illegible]?

It was evidently [illegible] already quoted [illegible] "Republicanism" [illegible] William H. Seward [illegible]

[illegible]

ing my long entertained impression that you really believe it does not. Tho you give your influence in the opposite direction of the slaveholder.—Let me remind you that the Constitution declares itself to be "the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." So that while you decline to commit yourself on "the abstract question" of the Constitutional recognition of Slavery in a State, you are not entitled to pronounce the State laws on the subject to be supreme. For without such Constitutional recognition the state law would lack that supremacy.

Nor, are you entitled, while waiving "the abstract question" of the Constitutional recognition of State slavery, to pronounce in favor of the Constitutional obligation to deliver up fugitives from slavery.

3. Still waiving the abstract question of the Constitutional right of property in man, you proceed, nevertheless, to concede that "domestic slavery is wisely left by the Constitution of the United States, exclusively to the care, management, and disposition of the States," and you would not have the Constitution changed, in favor of freedom!

Permit me to say, Sir, that unless the Constitution recognizes property in man, which Madison denied, and which you will not venture to affirm, then the Constitution recognizes all the people of the United States as *men*, and the Federal Government is bound to afford to them Federal protection. The same inference is to be deduced, from that construction of the apportionment clause which, by giving to three-fifths of the slaves, a *representation* in Congress, entitles them, as a class, to Congressional protection.

But why should I urge these plain considerations upon *your* attention? You doubtless understand it, as did Judge Taney, when he prudently omitted citing the apportionment clause, in his argument, in the case of Dred Scott. You understand it as well as does President Buchanan, and the entire corps of Southern Statesmen who, in consequence, are demanding amendments of the Constitution to make it pro-slavery. And it is *because* you and they thus understand the Constitution, that *they* demand its amendment, that *you*, Sir, second that demand. Thus I add your attestation to theirs, in evidence of the abolition character of *the Constitution* as it is.

4. And this brings me to a forth item of your proposed concessions to the slave power. You were evidently perplexed with your statements concerning the constitution *as it is*. And you evidently understood that the slaveholders whom you sought to conciliate, would not be satisfied with your confused and ambiguous concessions. They had demanded an amendment of the Constitution. And since "Republicanism"—and "every other name and thing"—freedom and the Constitution included, "was and ought to be subordinate, to Union," what alternative was left to you, but to comply with the demand? None at all. And accordingly you said

1 "The misapprehension of my position needs so strong a remedy, I am willing to vote for an amendment of the Constitution, declaring that it shall not, by any future amendment, be so altered as to confer on Congress a power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any state."

You had before disclaimed any desire to alter the Constitution in favor of *freedom*. Here you signified your willingness to vote for its amendment, in favor of slavery! Nay, more than even this. While the Constitution, as our fathers made and committed it, as a sacred trust, to their "posterity"—"to secure for them the blessings of liberty" was not too sacred in your eyes to be changed, to secure the curse and the crime of slavery, you would have that new pro-slavery portion of the Constitution held so sacred that neither your own vote nor the vote of posterity should ever change it back again, for the support of freedom and justice! You hold that "it is as necessary as it is wise, to resort to the people for revisions of the organic law when the demands of slaveholders have to be met, for the preservation of the *Union*." Yet you will debar "the people" from revising their organic law, for the better security of freedom against slavery and slaveholders.

This is your remedy amid "troubles and dangers" arising solely from the guilty and insane tolerance, of an oligarchy of despots amid a nation of freemen. Your remedy for these "troubles and dangers" is the perpetuity of the rule of that ruling oligarchy before whom you are now cowering, by an organic law, changeless as the laws of the Medes and Persians, that change not.

Do you know what you have done, Mr Seward? You have urged, in behalf of the Slave power, a measure that John Calhoun, in his day never thought of, or never dared to propose—a measure that no slaveholder, to my knowledge, has ever ventured to suggest—certainly not until within a few weeks, if at all the measure, I mean of changing the Constitution and declaring that change to be unchangeable.

5. And finally, you say

"I hold myself ready now, as always heretofore, to vote for any properly guarded laws which shall be deemed necessary to prevent mutual invasions of states by citizens of other states, and punish those who shall aid and abet them."

And so, having provided by a change in the Constitution, never to be changed back again, for the perpetuity of slavery, or so long as the slaveholders please to continue it, having thus established the sacred inviolability of the slaveholding caste that is, at this moment, in a state of rebellion against our free institutions, and against the Federal Government, conspiring and threatening to seize the national capitol, the national archives, the navy, the army, and establish a Government of their own upon the ruins of our Republic, you, Mr Seward, "the champion of freedom," recognized even in Europe as such, you, the prospective Premier of the Republican President elect, are proposing enactments to prevent the rising of the people against the usurpers!

Contrast this, Sir, and contrast your proposals to amend the Constitution with your speech at Madison, Wisconsin, not long ago. You then said

"By no word, no act, no combination into which I might enter, shall any one human being of all the generations to which I belong much less of any class of human beings of any race or kindred, be oppressed or kept down in the least degree in their efforts to rise to a higher state of liberty and happiness. . . . . Whenever the Constitution of the United States requires of me that this hand shall keep down the humblest of the human race, then I will lay down power, place, position, fame, everything rather than adopt such a construction or such a rule."

At that time, you would not vote against the oppressed, nor against their efforts for self-liberation, even in *obedience* to the Constitution. Now, you would have the Constitution amended to enable you to vote for slavery in the Territories, to help protect slavery in the States—and to the same end you would enact additional statutes, to prevent their liberation, by others.

And these you call measures of pacification, do you, Mr. Seward? Measures of abject submission (not of compromise) every one of them, without a single specification in favor of freedom, save your timid suggestion of a modification of the fugitive slave bill, on which you do not insist, as a condition.

Pacification? Do you think the people of the free states are prepared to become slaves, themselves?

And this is the upshot, is it, sir, of the benefits proposed by the Republican party for which abolitionists and free-soilers have given to it their votes! This is the "half-loaf better than no bread" that your party orators and editors have promised them!

It is to this goal that your prudent "one step at a time" has conducted them. They will learn wisdom from experience, unless, by long training in your school, they have learned to reason backward from the premises of facts, drawing

"Conclusions retrograde, and mad mistake."

For the present, sir, I have done. Let me entreat you to reconsider your position and retrace your steps, lest you ruin yourself, and the Republic. To save yourself, remember the fate of Webster. To save your nation, remember the fate of every Republic that, by its toleration of oppression has fostered in its bosom a nest of tyrants and conspirators.

I am, sir, your true friend—not your flatterer.

WILLIAM GOODELL.

New York Jan 21, 1861

The Post Office Department has issued orders discontinuing the Pensacola Post-office, and all the mail routes leading to that place have been so curtailed as to cut off all mail facilities.

The probability is that all the post offices and routes, will be cut off in those States as soon as there is any resistance or failure to comply with the Federal laws.

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1861.

Our room is so occupied with other matter that we [illegible] made place. The proceedings of the [illegible] Anti-slavery [illegible] for its absence. We are obliged to defer [illegible] to make room for our letter to Senator Seward.

"WHO RULE THE SOUTH?"

The N. Y. Times, Jan. 19, [illegible] from the census of 1850 showing that only two men, in the slave States, own as many as 1000 slaves—only thirteen as many as 500—only *fifty*-six owning less than 500, own as many as 300.—Of the fourth class, only one hundred and *eighty*-seven own 200—and of the fifth class, 1,479 owning 100 but less than 200.

"All these, being the large slaveholders, are only [illegible] in number, if collected together apart from their slaves would only make a respectable village. If we add one more class, the sixth, we include all slaveholders who may with propriety be said to be wealthy. It embraces those who own fifty slaves, but less than one hundred and is 6,196 in number. The six classes, including all who own as many as fifty slaves, in the whole South will therefore amount to 7,929 persons.

The Times infers, that so small a number cannot rule the South. But what are the facts? They not only rule the South, but the entire nation—and will inevitably continue to rule, while they continue to be slaveholders—See how Seward, and other Republican leaders are bowing down to them, at this moment!

TERRORISM AT THE SOUTH

A private letter has been handed us, dated New Orleans, January 1, from which we take the following

You know I am no abolitionists, neither a black-republican. I have always been a democrat—was brought up one; but for all this I stand as good a chance as any one to have outrages committed on me in this way. If I get the ill will of a southerner, he would only have to say that he heard me utter abolition sentiments, and I should have short notice to leave town, and be lucky if I got off without a new suit of homespun, made of tar and feathers. More than this, it is dangerous to get the ill-will of a nigger, for all he has to do is to say to some resident: "Massa, dat gemmen talk abolition to me." His word would be taken before mine, and without judge or jury, I would have to leave the country, and mayhap not get farther than the first tree at that.

What a state of Society is here! Moderation a crime, and every man at the mercy of any wretch who may, through wantonness or malice, choose to bring him into suspicion. No protection in law, no security in public opinion. A veritable reign of terror, as positive as that which ever existed in revolutionary France, though yet only in its first and bloodless stage. It is impossible to conceive a more odious despotism, or one freighted with more direful calamities in the end.—*The World.*

"*The World*" is in danger of getting "unduly excited" and of indulging in an "unchristian spirit"—"denouncing our brethren of the South for their 'peculiar institutions.' Does it suppose that "the reign of terror" is "*malum en se*"? Don't it know that a "despotism" is as innocent as a government of equal and just laws? Have'nt the D. Ds. said so hundreds of times, in palliation or defense of slaveholding? Why then does *The World* stigmatize it as "odious!"—"*No protection in law?*" What of that? When has there ever been any "protection in law" for that portion of the American people claimed as slaves? Or why should white skins expect such protection, where there is no protection for black skins? Is *The World* becoming so "fanatical" as to advocate "protection in law" for all men? *That* would be going over to the extreme of "ultra abolitionism" beyond which no abolitionists ever dreamed of going. "Revolutionary France"? Does'nt *the World* know that for nearly thirty years, abolitionists have been charged by religious editors with "infidelity" and the "Jacobinism" of the first French Revolution merely because they advocated "protection in law" for all men alike?

"*The World*" we fear, is getting tinctured with abolition fanaticism, or it would'nt talk in that way.

DISCUSSIONS ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT. The question—"What are the limitations of civil authority, and of the obligation, to obey its requirements?"—was discussed on last Tuesday evening, and the discussion of the same question is to be resumed, on *Tuesday Evening next*, at the 1st Cong. Church, corner of South Third and Eleventh Streets Williamsburgh.

CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION

The Convention assembled in the lecture room of the Church of the Puritans (Dr Cheever's) Union Square, on Wednesday, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The meeting was called to order by Rev. Henry T. Cheever, Secretary of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, and a preliminary organization was made by calling William [illegible] of New York to the chair and appointing Rev C H A Bulkley, of Paterson, N J, Secretary.

After a few remarks and prayer by the Chairman, a business committee was appointed consisting of Rev Henry T Cheever, Rev J R W Sloane, and Rev S R Davis.

An address was then read by Rev H T Cheever setting forth the principles and objects of the Church Anti-Slavery Society.

The Committee reported the names of permanent officers for the Convention, who were accordingly elected as follows:

William Goodell, President. Rev C H A Bulkley, Secretary.

Vice Presidents: Lewis Tappan, Esq., [illegible] Ketchum, Esq., [illegible] Nathan Brown, S. S. Jocelyn, [illegible] W [illegible], H Mattison, [illegible] M [illegible], Jas. Harper, S. R. Davis, Dexter Fairbanks, Esq., [illegible] Warren, [illegible] Esq., Henry Abel, Esq., Rev D M Graham, R. C. Wilson, David Hamilton, C. B. [illegible].

The afternoon session was opened with prayer, by Rev Mr. Conway, and in the evening, (at Rev. J. R. W. Sloane's Church,) by Rev. Mr Service.

The discussions were participated in, by a large number of ministers and laymen, and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

FIRST SERIES

I. *Resolved*, That whereas the question of the right or the wrong of slavery, is pre-eminently a moral and religious question, it should therefore be taken into the bosom of the Christian Church, where it properly belongs; and whereas the Christian people of this country have now become so numerous as to be able, if united, to control the policy of the nation upon every moral question, it is high time that they use that power, in the spirit of loyalty to Christ their head, and of love to abused man, their brother, for the righteous suppression of American slavery.

II. *Resolved*, That the present audacity of slavery, in demanding what mankind has never been willing to yield, its acknowledgment as a normal, necessary, and divine institution, and in requiring what has never before been demanded, a constitutional guarantee for property in man, and in insisting upon a "right" never yet allowed "the right, unchallenged by man to go and root itself, (in the words of Rev Dr Palmer, of New Orleans,) wherever Providence and nature permit"—is mainly owing to the practical infidelity, indifference or silence of those Ministers and Churches, that would not rebuke the sin of slaveholding, in the name of God, and under the authority of the Holy Scriptures, by refusing Christian fellowship with the slaveholder, and all defenders of slaveholding.

III. *Resolved*, That the overthrow of slavery will be speedily accomplished whenever a majority of the nation shall have become thoroughly convinced, that to hold property in man, is a moral wrong, and an absolute incongruity, an outrage upon nature, and an insult to God, and whenever public opinion, therefore, under the guidance of christianity, shall stamp slaveholding with infamy and the slaveholder with Christian reprobation.

IV. *Resolved*, That in view of the present distress of the nation, to be ascribed to nothing but slavery, and to the rising of God [illegible] judgment on account of slavery, the only sure ground for the restoration of National Union, peace and prosperity to our country, lies not in concession to slavery, but in the extinction of slavery, by taking the four millions of Americans held as slaves, from under the control of irresponsible masters and placing them as free men under the protection of humane and just law.

V. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Convention, it is the imperative duty of all ministers of the gospel, and members of Christian churches, to do their utmost to secure as speedily as possible a peaceable and equitable solution of the question of slavery, upon the principles of the foregoing Resolutions, and thereby to foreclose the crimes and horrors of a bloody servile insurrection, which otherwise are inevitable.

SECOND SERIES

I. *Resolved*, That in view of the great Act in the rapidly developing drama of freedom, with which the year 1861, opens in the Old World, viz. the immediate emancipation of 20 millions of Serfs, by the persistent will and energy of the Russian Czar Alexander II, we devoutly thank God and take heart for the hopes of humanity.

II. *Resolved*, That the signs of the times, and the indications of Providence give us reason to believe that a yet more glorious era in human progress is soon to be inaugurated in our own country—through the force of Christianity and the irresistible logic of events—by the unconditional liberation from a more oppressive and brutalizing bondage, than was ever known to Russian Serfs, of the abject millions of American slaves.

III. *Resolved*, That notwithstanding such cheering hopes for humanity in the immediate future growing out of our confidence in God, and in the course of events now transpiring, we are deeply grieved and mortified as [illegible] and Church-loving Christian men, at the recent gratuitous attempts to furnish scriptural defenses for American slavery by Northern divines.

IV. *Resolved*, That as an antidote and offset to the late discourse of Rev. Henry J Van Dyke on "the character and influence of Abolitionism," which we regard as an ineffaceable blot upon the Presbyterian pulpit, and which is now sedulously circulated in great numbers among the men of the North as a cheap way of falsifying the recent boast of certain arrogant politicians in the name of the South—"Give us time and we will not only wipe from our statute-books, the offensive Personal Liberty Laws, but we will repeal the very abolition sentiment of New England"—the friends of the Bible and of the enslaved are called upon to diffuse widely among the people such works as the late volume by Dr Cheever entitled "The guilt of Slavery, and the crime of slaveholding demonstrated from the Hebrew and Greek scriptures," and the prize tract of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, showing how the Bible gives neither warrant nor allowance of Chattel-Slavery, and the still later review of Mr. Van Dyke by Rev. J. R. W. Sloane.

V. *Resolved*, That this Convention sees clearly the hand of God, in what we believe to be the judicial and retributive madness, which has seized the South and in the confused moral sense of clerical and political apologists at the North, are forced into the conviction that God is entering into judgment with the nation for the long-cherished sin of slaveholding and from a deep sense of dependence on God only for a safe issue in freedom to our country and to the enslaved portion of it especially, through the present distress, we earnestly recommend to the Churches, and to all praying people, that they observe a concert of prayer for the enslaved, and for our country, on the third Sabbath evening or third Monday evening of each month of the year 1861.

VI. *Resolved*, That this Convention regard with great satisfaction the conduct of those representatives in Congress who persist in denying to the South the wicked concessions to slavery which they so insolently demand.

VII. *Resolved*, That as self-preservation is the first law of nations as of individuals, the general government—whatever may be said of its power over slavery in the States during time of peace—has in the present exigency, by the act of the Southern States, and by the express provision of the Constitution in case of rebellion or insurrection, the right to suppress rebellion and to abolish slavery, the cause of it."

VIII. *Resolved*, That in view of the increasing disposition manifested by the revival of mob law in Boston, Philadelphia and New York, as well as its prevalence at the South, to restrict the exercise of liberty of speech, that dearest and most inalienable right of the citizen, and in view of the fact also that the restriction, if suffered to proceed, is likely to end also in that of the press and the pulpit, thus destroying all the foundations of social, civil and religious freedom, we do most earnestly call upon every public adviser, every organ of opinion, every medium of popular communication, to lift up their voice and use their utmost power in staying at once this pregnant evil, and thus maintain the essential rights and principles of freedom.

IX. *Resolved*, That the ministry and churches of this land be appealed to, most earnestly, for unceasing labors and prayers towards the promotion of such pure revivals of religion as shall be the product of a free and full Gospel and of that divine spirit whose presence is liberty.

X. *Resolved*, That we owe it to ourselves, as representatives of true freedom, and of its real spirit in the churches of the North, to address a circular letter to the ministry and the Church of the South, that they may have a direct and impartial exhibition of our views respecting this system of bondage, and of their relation and duties thereto, and that a Committee be appointed to prepare said letter and obtain signatures to it for circulation among the clergy and churches of the South.

The Rev Messrs. Bulkley, Sloane and Mattison were appointed the committee.

Letters were read from Rev. David Thurston of Maine, Rev J [illegible] Webster, of Massachusetts, and J D. Fulton of Albany.

The meeting was a highly interesting one, and productive, we trust, of great good.

N. B.—The N. Y. *World* and some other papers have fallen into the error of publishing as *adopted* a resolution favoring compensation to slaveholders, which was on the printed slips of Resolutions proposed. The Business Committee did not bring that Resolution before the Convention.

FROM INDIANA

Rev J H. Jones, Missionary of the Am. Miss. Association, writes from Decatur, Adams Co. Indiana, to the Secretaries, as follows:

"The *irrepressible conflict* is seen and felt everywhere. I have no confidence in many of our politicians. But I have confidence in God's providence. He will make the wrath of man to praise Him. The issues are narrowing down, and it must soon come to the naked question of pro-slavery or anti-slavery. The anti-slavery party in the South, must be an *Abolition party*. If slavery is to be removed from Kentucky and Missouri, it must be by political action. The party that will remove slavery from those States must be composed of Abolitionists in fact, and the party in the North with whom they may affiliate must also be of the same character.

When real abolition views become prevalent in the South, similar views will become popular in the North also."—*Am. Missionary.*

This agrees with what we know of anti-slavery in Kentucky. Cassius M Clay, whose political ambition doubtless blinds him, cannot prevent Kentucky anti-slavery from putting on the phase of abolitionism. It will not content itself with mere *non extension* which if accepted, would not benefit Kentucky. Hence the split between Mr. Clay and those who had supported him.

STARTLING SUGGESTIONS.

The following, as coming from the *Tribune*, is quite suggestive. Speaking of Russian emancipation, it says:

The burdens borne by the Russian serf, grievous as they may have been, were moderate compared with the atrocious system for the perpetuation and propagation of which our American slaveholders are now in rebellion against the Union. He was not reduced to the degrading condition of a chattel, was not debarred from education; could not be torn from his family nor his home; and could lawfully protect the virtue of his wife and daughter. Still, his emancipation from his fetters light as they were, which have hitherto bound him, is an event which, in grandeur and beneficence, has had no equal in the annals of Russia, except her liberation from the Tartar yoke, and which cannot fail to impel the Empire forward with prodigious strides in the march of civilization and national power. Such an event is of itself sufficient to render 1861 forever memorable in history. It is already a great year, and it may become greater yet, if, as is probable, the madness of the Southern slaveholders shall compel the American people in self-defence, in order to preserve their empire unimpaired, and secure to themselves and their posterity, the blessings of peace and union, to exert their unquestionable and irresistible power, and sweep from the land at once, and forever, that relic of barbarism to which, and to which alone, is to be attributed our past and present national troubles. The Russian Czar, with a firm hand, regardless of the threats of a man-owning aristocracy, has raised *twenty million of serfs* into freemen. The American democracy, mightier than any Czar, can, if it be necessary, with equally firm hand, suppress the rebellious slaveholders, and remove all cause or pretext for future rebellions, by putting a summary end to slavery.—*Trib.*

News of the Day.

INCIDENTS OF SECESSION

Several gentlemen have arrived in this City within a few days who have, for a long time past, been engaged in trade at Charleston. One of these kept a provision and grocery store. A demand was made upon him for an exorbitant sum to sustain the State authorities. He offered them State stocks, but they would accept only a moderate amount of these securities, and finally they *removed by force about one-half of all the goods from his store.* He did not dare to remonstrate, but he quietly sent his slaves to Richmond, Va., and, between two days, packed up the remainder of his property and left the State. His case, he says, is only a sample of multitudes of others. It is no uncommon thing to notice the closing of stores, when an inspection of the premises reveals the fact that all the merchandise has been removed.

The insecurity of person and property, the difficulty of getting into the harbor on account of the removal of buoys and coast lights, the danger of having vessels seized by the State when they do get in, and the greatly enhanced rates of marine insurance upon vessels bound to Charleston, combine to prevent vessels from going there. Large quantities of goods intended for their current supplies are sent to Savannah, *where business has largely increased*, and they are forwarded to Charleston by railroad. Six dollars per ton is paid for freight on coal from Savannah to Charleston. On the whole, the Savannah merchants are highly pleased with the course of events at Charleston, and advise them to *go ahead*. There is no intention at present, however, to put out the lights and remove the buoys in Savannah harbor.

Information from Georgia, which will be found in detail in another part of this morning's *Times*, gives an interesting account of the several classes of the population who are most active in the secession movement. It is also stated that the Governor has prohibited the departure of any more volunteers for Charleston, partly because so many of those who have already gone thither sickened and died, and partly because it is feared they may all be required at home to suppress insurrections.

A gentleman recently from Charleston expressed the opinion in conversation yesterday that whisky has a great deal to do with the secession movement in Charleston. The entire population, he said, seemed to be on a perpetual whisky. Bar rooms, restaurants, stores, shops, all public places were crowd-

ed incessantly with a dru[illegible] m[illegible]. [illegible] material which constitutes the principal strength of the secession movement. The orderly and conservative portion of the citizens are completely overawed by them, and carefully avoid taking any steps which might excite their displeasure.—N. Y. Times.

THE EXPENSES OF SECESSION

The [illegible] South Carolinian publishes an ordinance [illegible] passed by the City Council to raise supplies for the year [illegible]. Besides a tax of [illegible] cents on every hundred dollars worth of real estate, and innumerable taxes on horses, wagons, places of amusement, &c. &c., it is ordained that.

O[illegible] shall be pa[id] [illegible] under sixty years of age, not liable to street duty, which said tax upon slaves shall be paid by the owner or person having charge and control thereof; [illegible] each on every free negro, mulatto or Mestizo, under the age of [illegible] years, [illegible] on every free [illegible] ten, and under [illegible] years, [illegible] on every free negro, mulatto or [illegible] over the age of [illegible] and under the age of sixty years, [illegible] dollars on [illegible] over the age of sixteen and under [illegible] years, and twenty-five dollars on every [illegible] free negro, mulatto or mestizo over the age of twenty-one and under the age of sixty years, exercising any mechanical art or trade within the limits of the said city.

The heaviest part of the expense of secession is thus levied on those free negroes who have by industry and mechanic skill become able to maintain themselves. Besides a very heavy tax on each head of such family, every member of it down to the child in arms, is subjected to an additional exaction. The result must be the speedy reduction of this class of persons to a condition of abject poverty, and then they will probably be sold into slavery. The *sale of free negroes* will probably thus come to be the grand resort of the seceding States to defray the expenses of their rebellion. What a magnificent basis for a new confederacy!

THE METHODISTS ON SECESSION

The Shanondale Circuit of the Baltimore Conference held a meeting in Jefferson County, Va. on the 19th ult., the Rev. A Robey presiding. After repudiating the action of the Buffalo Convention in inserting a new chapter in the discipline of the Church on the Slavery question, and electing Henry Edwards a delegate to the Baltimore (M. E.) Conference, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted

Whereas, A majority of the inhabitants of the Northern States did, on the 6th of November, in the year of our Lord 1860, then and there insert a new chapter in the political discipline of our beloved country, thereby giving dissatisfaction to almost the entire South; and whereas we, as a Church, claim to have nothing to do with the politics of the country, and should do nothing as a Church to give political type to our beloved Union, therefore

Resolved, first, That we think it inexpedient to take a positive position as a Circuit, until our wise statesmen and people generally have taken their stand; then, as a Church, we will follow, and not lead.

Resolved, second, That we will take our stand with Virginia, let it be what it may.

Resolved, third, That we shall rejoice to receive slaveholders in the Church on this circuit, in addition to those we already have.

Resolved, fourth, That we do not regard the new chapter as anything more than we would regard a new chapter against the use of tobacco passed by a majority of the General Conference, telling our people that if they indulged in its use that they were sinners in the sight of God.

Resolved, fifth, That we will follow Virginia, support her institutions, and observe her laws.

Resolved, [illegible], That we have unabated confidence in the [illegible] the Baltimore Conference.

The above appears more like a burlesque or a satire than like the sober matter-of-fact action of a deliberative ecclesiastical body. Only think of it! A CHURCH, that *should* be "the salt of the earth," proclaiming its intention to go with the WORLD, whatever direction it may take!

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

Of the South Congregational Church, Georgetown, Mass. adopted December 24, 1860.

Whereas, the recent message of the President, recognizing the existence of open rebellion at the South, advises to amend the Constitution so that rebels may [illegible]; and whereas, having laid the blame upon the violent agitation of the slavery question at the North, the President now proclaims a National Fast, that we may confess our faults to God and implore him to remove from our hearts that false pride of opinion which would impel us to preserve in wrong for the sake of consistency," thus virtually summoning the people to repentance for the issue of the late Presidential canvass: therefore,

1. Resolved, That the President of the United States is in treacherous conspiracy with rebels to overthrow the Government.

2. Resolved, That an amendment of the Constitution, for the avowed purpose of propitiating armed rebellion is a thing unheard of in the annals of time, absurd and impossible.

3. Resolved, That the only amendment which the age demands is an express repudiation of the slave [illegible] of the rendition and representation clauses of the Constitution.

4. Resolved, That the present distress is a judgment of God, not only upon our other sins, but also and especially upon the sin of slavery, and that the people should immediately break off their sins by repentance, and daily seek forgiveness of the same.

5. Resolved, That, viewed in connection with the charges and implications contained in his late message the President's proclamation of a Fast, although verbally pious, is an act of hypocrisy and spiritual usurpation in the highest degree insulting and detestable being nothing short of a Bull of Excommunication against political adversaries, and that, under the circumstances, we must wholly decline to comply with the President's request.

(A true copy.) CHARLES BEECHER, Pastor.

DESTITUTION AT THE NORTH.

A gentleman [illegible] at Boston from Charleston makes the following report of the state of feeling in that city:

The people have the most exaggerated notions of their own strength and importance, and the most ridiculous ideas of Northern dependence upon their countenance and favor. They acknowledge the business stagnation in their own city, but seem to take a patriotic pride in their pecuniary sufferings, [illegible] *that the distress and destitution at the North is tenfold greater. It is the universal belief that the danger of bread riots in the large cities of the North is imminent—that the manufactories are all stopped—and that the people are starving.* They express a great deal of sympathy for our poor, but say they have nobody to blame but themselves for their abject condition. They laugh to scorn the idea of coercion on the part of the General Government, and say the first blow struck will be the signal for a civil war at the North in which the Democratic and Bell-Everett Parties will throttle the Republicans and insist that the independence of the Slave States shall be acknowledged.

This sentiment seems to be by no means confined to Charleston. Hon Eli S. Shorter, writing from Alabama to a friend in Missouri, says they deeply sympathize with the conservatives at the North, and would gladly preserve them if possible from the "general bankruptcy which awaits New-York City." And in various quarters at the South we find similar references to the intense and universal suffering which it is supposed disunion will inflict upon the Northern States.

This impression is the direct result of the teaching by which the people of the South have been brought to their present position. The leaders of the movement from the time of Calhoun have taught them that *they* supported the Union,—that they contributed far more than the Northern States to the support of the Government,—that the industry of the North was entirely dependent upon their staples,—and that if these should be withdrawn universal bankruptcy beggary and ruin would instantly overtake the people of the North. These are the representations by which the eagerness of the South for independence has been stimulated. They have been made to believe that the North is helpless without them, and that, if fairly confronted with the reality of separation, she must concede whatever they choose to demand.—*Times.*

DIARY OF PASSING EVENTS

Union sentiment in Tennessee.—The working men and mechanics of Nashville, Tenn., have held a meeting and adopted Resolutions pledging themselves to support the Union, and against the secession of South Carolina. A similar meeting has been held in Hawkins County, which denied that any State may secede from the Union at its pleasure.

Kentucky.—Gov. Magoffin's message recommends the calling a Convention of the border States, at Baltimore, early in February. He deplores the party action of the seceding States, but declares that Kentucky will never approve the employment of force against them.

Missouri.—In the Legislature, a bill has been introduced, calling on Congress to call a national Convention. The subject was postponed.

Virginia.—In the Senate, the Committee on Federal Relations reported Resolutions, approving Mr. Crittenden's proposed compromise, and recommending that Commissioners be sent to the General Government and also to the seceding States, urging both parties to refrain from hostile action against each other. *The House* has adopted Resolutions in favor of a National Convention at Washington, Feb. 4.

Mr T[illegible] says, "Mr. Seward's speech puts an end to all hope of adjustment." What more would he have?

The New York Observer and the African Repository are proscribed by the Postmaster of Camden, Alabama, as incendiary publications. What next?

The M[illegible] of the Brooklyn is now said to have been to intercept the *Star of the West*, and countermand the orders sending her to *Fort Sumpter*. An [illegible]

N[illegible] S[illegible]—Some of the worst of the Southern [illegible] are renegade Northerners. Slidell, Yancey, W. H. [illegible], Col [illegible], and L. W. Spratt are said to be of that class.

The P[illegible] [illegible] to Gov. Pickens [illegible] Major Anderson and his command are allowed free access to and from the Post-Office, the mail service will be [illegible] entirely.

The [illegible] Bank of Charleston has suspended, and refuse to pay the depositors anything but worthless [illegible] at par.—Charleston [illegible].

The Washington C[illegible] exults over the defeat of the Crittenden compromise, and gives it an epitaph—"Here lies the last of the compromises." Amen, say we.

S. Carolina—Forced Loans.—Ex. Gov. Aiken has been [illegible] compelled to loan the insurgents $4[illegible],000 at which he earnestly demurred, but they threatened the confiscation of all his property in Charleston and he was compelled to submit. He said he had better be a Northern mechanic shoving a jack-plane at 2,00 per day, than a S. Carolina millionaire! He is now one of the [illegible]. What if the men of that class should be compelled to liberate and arm their slaves, in self-defence? Gov Aiken is said to have [illegible] of them, a pretty good army to begin with.

Gov. Pickens has submitted to the Legislature a [illegible] the defence of the sea coast of S. Carolina, to prevent [illegible] incursion of parties landing from small craft. The Legislature are considering a proposal to lay a submarine telegraph between Charleston and their forts, in the Bay.

Charleston Clearances for vessels are to be made in the name of the State. Who out of the seceding States will credit them?

The navigation of the Mississippi has already begun to be impeded by the seceders. Gov. Petus of Mississippi has ordered a detachment of artillery to Vicksburgh, to hail passing boats. The Louisville Journal, says "Kentucky and Tennessee have some right to know what this means?" So, we imagine, have some of the States North of there.

All the foreign Ministers at Washington are opposed to the secession scheme, and it is said, they do not hesitate to say that their government will give no countenance to any attempt of the secessionists to establish separate diplomatic and commercial relations.

LOUISIANA is expected to secede the 20th of February.

The Arkansas Legislature has unanimously passed a bill submitting the Convention question to the people on the [illegible]th of February. In case of a majority favoring it, the Governor is to appoint the day.

BOSTON, Friday, Jan. [illegible]

In the State Legislature, to-day, a series of resolutions was passed by a unanimous vote, tendering to the President of the United States such aid in men and money as he may request, to maintain the authority of the General Government. The preamble to the resolutions declares that the State of South Carolina, in seizing the fortifications of the Federal Goverment, the Post-Office, Custom house, moneys, arms, munitions of war, and by firing upon a vessel of the United States service, has committed an act of war.

Free speech in Rochester was vindicated after all, a[illegible] much opposition, and the anti slavery Convention held.

The House of Representatives yesterday voted $1 3[illegible] for a mounted regiment in Texas. Sam Houston will have the appointment of the officers, and his known loyalty to the Union gained the bill many Republican votes.

The House of Representatives yesterday, in Committee of the Whole, voted for the Army Appropriation bill. An amendment offered by Mr. Burnett of Kentucky that the army should not be used against the seceding States, was voted down.

Monday, Jan. [illegible]

The Georgia State Convention adopted the secession ordinance at 2 P. M. on Saturday—Ayes, 2[illegible]; Nays, [illegible]. A motion to postpone the operation of the ordinance to March 3 was lost. Among those who voted against the [illegible] were Hon. Alex. H. Stephens, and Hon. Herschel V. [illegible]. Resolutions in favor of continuing the present [illegible] and revenue system, and all the [illegible] Federal [illegible] otherwise ordered, were adopted.

Brooklyn Navy Yard.—On Monday there was a [illegible] intention to seize the U. S. Navy Yard at Brooklyn [illegible] N. Y. City, for the benefit of the Southern [illegible]. [illegible] consultation between Capt. FOOTE (temporarily in command) of the Yard, the Mayor of Brooklyn, and with the [illegible] Department of N. York, prompt measures of defence [illegible] taken. Two Regiments of the Fifth Brigade were [illegible] under arms, and a large police force, besides the [illegible] the Yard. No [illegible] however took place.

K[illegible].—The [illegible] for the admission of Kansas [illegible] the Senate with an amendment, with which [illegible] doubt [illegible] the House will concur.

It is understood among the [illegible] Gen. Jeff Davis will [illegible] President of the [illegible] Government [illegible] established at Montgomery [illegible] proximo.

The [illegible] in Congress from Alabama, M[illegible] and Florida have retired.

Baltimore, Monday, [illegible] 21.

Georgia's [illegible] has struck a [illegible] blow to the hope of Maryland. We are now at the mercy of Virginia. If she secedes and no speedy [illegible] is made by Congress similar to Mr. Crittenden's [illegible], I have [illegible] knowledge that the people of Maryland are preparing, independent of the Governor, to elect and [illegible] a Sovereign Convention, which will certainly withdraw the State from the Union before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. I speak knowingly.— *Tribune.*

In consequence of the refusal of the Mayor of Boston to take measures to protect the Anti-slavery Convention which is to meet in that city on Thursday next, an order has been introduced in the Massachusetts Senate to consider the expediency of appointing the Boston police by State authority.

In the Senate yesterday, according to our [illegible] report, Mr. Cameron announced his readiness to sustain the compromise propositions of Mr. Bigler for the surrender of Northern rights and Republican principles, and was duly complimented by the Southern Senators. This, we presume, will be sufficient to settle his claims to a seat in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet. If he be truly reported, he may be considered to have formally separated from the Republican party.—*Tribune.*

And how about Mr. Seward? Has Mr. Cameron gone beyond the proposals of Mr. Seward's speech?

SENATE. *Mr. Crittenden's Resolutions.—Mr. Clark's Substitute.*

At the time of putting our last paper to press the conflicting accounts left the decision uncertain. While mailing our paper, the *Daily Globe* brought us the official report from which we learn that Mr. Powell's amendment of Mr. Crittenden's resolution was adopted by a vote of 29 to 24. Then the amendment offered as a substitute, by Mr. Clark of New Hampshire, (as published in our last) was in order, and after debate was adopted, yeas 25, nays 23.

YEAS.—Messrs. Anthony, Baker, Bingham, Cameron, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Dixon, Doolittle, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Grimes, Hale, Harlan, King, Seward, Simmons, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Wade, Wilkinson and Wilson—25.

NAYS.—Messrs. Bayard, Bigler, Bragg, Bright, Clingman, Crittenden, Fitch, Green, Gwin, Hunter, Johnson of Tennessee, Kennedy, Lane, Latham, Mason, Nicholson, Pearce, Polk, Powell, Pugh, Rice, Saulsbury and Sebastian—23.

Mr. Douglas asked unanimously leave to have his vote recorded in the negative, which being objected to, was not granted. Mr. Cameron moved to reconsider the vote, and finding it out of order, at that time gave notice that he would hereafter make that motion.

Accordingly, on Friday, Mr. Crittenden himself called up the subject, and the vote adopting Mr. Clark's amendment was reconsidered, as follows.

YEAS.—Messrs. Bayard, Bigler, Bragg, Bright, Clingman, Crittenden, Douglas, Fitch, Green, Gwin, Hemphill, Hunter, Johnson of Arkansas, Johnson of Tennessee, Kennedy, Lane, Latham, Mason, Nicholson, Pearce, [illegible], Powell, Pugh, Rice, Saulsbury, Sebastian and [illegible]—[illegible].

NAYS.—Messrs. Anthony, Baker, Bingham, Cameron, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Dixon, Doolittle, [illegible], Foot, Foster, Grimes, Hale, Harlan, King, Seward, Simmons, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Wade, Wigfall, Wilkinson, and Wilson—24.

[illegible] Mr. Clark's [illegible] again before the Senate and after some debate, the further consideration of it was postponed until Monday. [illegible] Monday [illegible] further [illegible] without [illegible] to a vote.

On Wednesday, a motion was made to [illegible] Mr. Crittenden's [illegible], and [illegible] by a vote of 25 to 24. [illegible]

Mr. [illegible] presented [illegible] recommending a convention of the several States to [illegible] the [illegible] for a [illegible] of [illegible]. Mr. Crittenden [illegible] the latter part of the [illegible].

[illegible] NEW YORK. "The World" [illegible] at the [illegible] proposed to the New York State Legislature, to [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] State. The World [illegible] that the power in the [illegible] trial by jury [illegible] the [illegible] in the Massachusetts [illegible] "[illegible] by jury" [illegible] was the [illegible] which [illegible] brought with [illegible] to this country, [illegible] nearly [illegible] years.

[illegible]

The [illegible] a long communication from a [illegible] of Kentucky [illegible] in which the following [illegible]:

"[illegible] in the Union and [illegible] with [illegible] The [illegible] of law and order [illegible] and [illegible] South [illegible] The [illegible]

[illegible] only that has already been made [illegible] for the [illegible] of [illegible] rights [illegible] forward [illegible] The [illegible] and [illegible] will [illegible] a [illegible] with [illegible] will [illegible] slavery will [illegible] Holding [illegible] and [illegible] Union [illegible] and [illegible] stability and [illegible] to North and South.

"And [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] waste and of the [illegible] with which they had [illegible] their [illegible] inheritance, when they [illegible] the [illegible] had as separate [illegible] as members of a [illegible] confederation, they will find the old form of *former Union ready for their* [illegible] and the old Constitution, in full and [illegible] them [illegible] upon that career of greatness and prosperity which they had [illegible] abandoned."

FREE COTTON.—Mr. E. S. Sanford, of Connecticut, who has travelled extensively in Central and South America for four or five years, with a view to this subject, has lately given the result of his observations to the public through the Albany *Evening Journal.* He states that there is a larger cotton territory of the best quality Southward, than the whole area of the cotton states of our Union.

In consequence of the important information communicated by Mr. Sanford, it is proposed to hold a meeting in Cooper Institute, New York, at some early day, for the purpose of organizing an Association for the cultivation of Cotton by Free Labor in Central and South America. The call it is said, has already been numerously signed.

UNION FEELING IN MARYLAND.—Great meetings have been held in Cumberland, Washington, and Cecil counties, in favor of Union. Democrats and Republicans united in them. Baltimore [illegible]

NORTH CAROLINA STATE BONDS have risen 9 per cent. in consequence of the recent Union demonstrations in that State.

Could a Southern confederacy, with Cobb as its Finance Minister, and Floyd as its War Minister, borrow five million of dollars at any rates in the city of New York? No. It could not borrow as many [illegible].—*Sun.*

"KING COTTON."—The N. Y. Evening Post makes a calculation showing that the capital of the South in slaves does not pay the expense of their keeping by $10,000,000, and the South receives in various ways from the general government $16,500,000, or perhaps a larger sum than they pay in duties.

It shows that the value of persons held to service is actually less than nothing, and that the whole credits are obtained at the North for the purpose of putting the crop in the ground to the amount of $200,000,000, on which the southern planters have to base all their operations for the coming year.

E[illegible] Effect of the Revolution upon New York. The political revolution now going forward at the South is resulting in a commercial revolution different in its effects from any that has ever preceded it. By the action of the secession States the usual channels of trade have been choked up in the Southern seaboard, and the result is that the commerce is diverted to the city of New York from the interior by the railroads, which are now doing a thriving business.—*Herald.*

Reli[illegible]—We are informed on the best authority, that the sum of $7,000 has been subscribed by some of our merchants during the last week as a gift to a firm in Charleston [illegible] to pay a similar amount [illegible] Treasury of the [illegible] under threats of expulsion. [illegible] New York is made to repair the ravages of robbery in Charleston.—*Sun.*

The [illegible] transmitted to the state convention the [illegible] of the Legislature of New York. Mr. [illegible] proposed a counter resolution, to be sent to Governor Morgan, stating that the convention approve of the action of [illegible] the [illegible] Fort [illegible] and that the same will be [illegible] with the Federal Government.

[illegible] N. Y. [illegible]—*Resolved,* That in the [illegible] Senator, [illegible], we recognize that the true position of the country and [illegible] of the Republican Party has [illegible] the [illegible] of all [illegible] of [illegible] willing to [illegible] upon [illegible] to [illegible] and ourselves.

If the Republican party [illegible] with the above, it might be [illegible].

Seizure of Arms in New York City.—Thirty-eight cases of muskets, four hundred and fifty-six in all—were yesterday seized by Superintendent [illegible] Kennedy, on board the steamer *M[illegible]* which was just about sailing for Savannah. The arms were [illegible] to Montgomery, Ala.

Defense of the Navy Yard, Brooklyn.—At the Brooklyn Navy Yard, yesterday, everything remained [illegible] but the precautionary measures were [illegible]. Commodore Breeze has arrived at the Yard and [illegible] adopted to guard against [illegible] attack. [illegible] United States troops [illegible] yesterday [illegible] Fort Hamilton. [illegible] arrived [illegible] barracks by the [illegible]

Tennessee, Wednesday.

[illegible] Committee yesterday [illegible] were a [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] Government the [illegible] of the [illegible] property, and pledging the State to pay [illegible] the same. [illegible] but pledged [illegible] to defend the State against [illegible] An [illegible] and [illegible] the special order of the day, to [illegible] the Federal laws for the [illegible] of the African slave trade. The Convention appointed Commissioners to Louisiana and Texas.

N. Y. LEGISLATURE.—The Republicans in the Legislature held a secret caucus last evening to consider the [illegible] advisable to take on the report of the Committee on Federal Relations. The debate was warm and protracted, and no definite action was taken.

In the Legislature yesterday, Mr. Birdsall of this city submitted an able minority report from the Committee on Federal Relations expressing in plain and forcible but temperate language, the reasons why [illegible] and [illegible] to slavery are not the proper remedy for our national troubles, and offering resolutions in favor of adhering to "the time-honored policy of the Government in favor of free institutions," and of maintaining the Constitution as it is, and enforcing the laws.—*Tribune.*

An [illegible] the South, has [illegible] in New York. A third attempt was made, but the Government officers were [illegible] ashore, and the steamer [illegible] sea.

[illegible] *Hayne* is still at Washington.

A boat from Fort Sumpter has been fired upon by the Charleston insurgents.

Family Miscellany.

[illegible] *For the Principia.*

STORY FOR THE LITTLE FOLKS.

DEAR CHILDREN, I know a bright eyed, rosy cheeked little girl, whose sunny face and gleeful voice make her parent's hearts glad, and their home a pleasant place indeed. At times, you may hear her singing.

"I ought to love my mother,
She loved me long ago,
On earth there is no other
That ever loved me so, &c."

Then again her little voice is heard ringing out

There is a happy land
Far far away,
Where saints in glory stand
Bright, bright as day, &c."

Then again you may hear her repeating such [illegible] lines as the following: "The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want." "How good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

[illegible]

Now Mary, will you tell me why it would not be right for the kidnappers [illegible] and take this darling little girl, and carry her far away from her parents, and home, and all the [illegible] and [illegible] and sad [illegible]?

MARY. "Because they would not do by her as they would like to have others do by them, and therefore it would be wrong."

WILLIAM. "The Declaration of Independence says that *all* men are created equal, and they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Now if this be true they have no right to make slaves of any body, have they?

You are right William, and you Mary. Our good Father [illegible] certain natural rights, and he has given you the same. Adam had the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. So have you. Adam had the right to have dominion over the fish of the sea, the fowl of the air, over the cattle and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. He had the right to [illegible]

He had a right to [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible]

1 ch. 26 to 29 verses, also 2 ch. 21 to 29 verses.) Bnt God did not give Adam any right to domineer over his fellow man. And it will be observed that man has no right to lie, steal, defraud, oppress, murder, profane God's holy name, nor to disobey his Maker's commands in any other form. All impiety and irreverance toward God, and all unkind feelings and injustice toward onr fellow creatures, is strictly forbidden by our great Creator. And he, who is guilty of these things, does what he *has no right* to do, and rebels against his Maker's authority.

All our natural rights come from God, and are a sacred trust committed to our hands; let us never forfeit them by our crimes.

Dear Children, this is a time when wicked men wonld like to make slaves of us all; therefore listen, while I further consider our rights, in mynext. In the meantime, ask your parents what right the slaveholders have to steal little children away from their parents aud home.

Very Respectfully, yonr friend,

DEACON T.

Maple Cottage, January 16. 1861.

DISTINGUISHED SELF-MADE MEN.

One of the best editors the Westmininister *Review* could ever boast of, and one of the most brilliant writers of the passing honr, was an Aberdeen cooper. One of the editors of the Londen *Daily Journal* was an Elgin baker; perhaps one of the best reporters of the London *Times* was an Edinburg weaver; the editor of the *Witness* was a stone-mason. One of the ablest ministers in London was a Dundee blacksmith, and another was a Banff watchmaker. The late Dr. Milne, of China, was a Rhine hord-boy. The principal of the London Missionary Society's College, at Hong-Keug, was a Huutley saddler; and one of the best missionaries that ever went to India was a Keith tailor. The leading machinist on the London and Birmingham Railway was a Glasgow mechanic, and perhaps the very richest iron-founder in England was a Moray workingman. Sir James Clark, Her Majesty's physician, was a Banff druggist. Joseph Hume was a sailor first, and then a laborer at a mortar and pestle ,in Montrose. These men, however, spent their leisure hours in acquiring useful knowledge.—*Exchange.*

The above is but one of the more recent specimens of enumerations in the same direction. Forty years ago we used to hear how Franklin was a printer, Roger Shounan a shoemaker, aud so on. Then came the more modern list, in which Elihu Burritt, the learned blacksmith, was conspicuous.

The common impression, we fear, is, that these instances are curiosities, rare exceptions to the general rule, whereas it ought to he understood that *all* really great aud useful men are "self-made" and that *nearly* all of them have been mechanics, farmers, or in some way inured to productive or useful manual labor. *This* should be understood to be the rule, and that it has few exceptions. And all laboring men, especially the young, ought to understand this, and that the leisure between and after the hours of a day's *labor*, are the most favorable seasons for profitable *study.* Idleness and literature do not belong together, naturally, and when they do happen to get together, the product is generally imbecility, not vigor.

RIGHT KIND OF ORNAMENTS.

How much precious time is spent by many—both old and young—in ornamenting the body. How many hours at the glass do some young girls and boys, or young men and women spend. How mnch pains do they take to make themselves appear well outwardly. Such ones ought to bestow less care upon their outward adornment, and more upon the accomplishment of the mind and heart. We have lately seen quite an interesting statement as to the ornaments which may and ought to be used by all young people. Just read about them

The Enchanted Mirror—Self-Knowledge.
This curions glass will bring your faults to light,
And make your virtues shine both pure and bright.

Matchless Pair of Ear-Rings—Attention and Obedience
With these clear drops appended to the ear.
Attentive, lessons you will gladly hear.

In[illegible] of Bracelets—Neatness and Industry
[illegible]em on carefully each day you live
To good designs they efficacy give.

An Elastic Girdle—Patience.
The more you use, the brighter it will grow.
Though its least merit is external show.

Ring of Tried Gold—Principle.
Yield not this golden bracelet while you live.
'Twill both restrain, and peace of conscience give

Necklace of Purest Pearl—Resignation.
This ornament embellishes the fair.
And teaches all the ills of life to bear.

Diamond Breast Pin—Love
Adorn yonr bossom with this precions pin,
It shines withont and warms the heart within.

A Precious Diadem—Piety.
Who'er this precious diadem shall own,
Secures himself an everlasting crown.

Universal Beautifier—Good Temper.
With this choice liquid, gently touch the mouth,
It spreads o'er all the face the charms of youth.—*The Myrtle.*

From the Prairie Home.

"A WORD OF ADVICE TO MOTHERS."

'Endeavor by all means to secure in early life the confidence of your children.' If this is not done early, it will seldom be done at all. If it cannot be done when your little ones are wholly dependent on yon, it will not be done when that dependence is less. In order to secure their confidence,

1st. Train them to habits of early obedience. It is much more easy to prevent a bad habit, than to correct one. If yon want your children to love you as they grow up and to confide in you ever afterwards, teach them to obey yon. The most obedient children are always the most affectionate and confiding. Teach them, then, to obey you, and you lay a fonndation for every desirable trait of character.

2nd. Treat yonr children kindly. I do not mean indulge them in every thing they wish, you may do this without being kind to them. Indeed this very indnlgence may be the greatest unkindness. Bnt having trained them to habits of early obedience, speak kindly to them, and treat them with kindness, and confidence even when insisting npon and enforcing obedience to your requirements.

3rd. Take an interest in all that affects or interests them. When they come to you for counsel, sympathy, or information, do not repel them, be always ready to give that counsel, &c., and give it in a spirit of kindness. It is not necessary, however, always to attend to all their questions; they will sometimes acquire a habit of asking qnestions from mere idle curiosity without waiting for an answer. This habit should he checked. A jndicious parent can easily make the proper distinction; and shonld act accordingly. Attention to their reasonable inquiries, and interest in their affairs will secure their love and confidence, and they will not become, (as is often the case,) more attached to the "help" than to the mother.

4th. Watch the opening of their young minds, and yon will soon find them seeking after knowledge. Let this be cheerfully and kindly given, or they will seek it elsewhere. To a yonng child everything is a novelty, a mystery. No wonder then that they ask many questions. Answer, then, all their reasonable enquiries, or tell them when yon will answer them or give them a good reason, (one that they will understand) why you do not.

Here we have a reason why mothers should be well informed; (I do not mean merely educated at school, but well informed in general) and if they are not already so, no time should be lost in the necessary preparation. Some perhaps do not have the time to spare, but others do, hnt neglect to use it for purposes of inprovement, and hence their children, as soon as they are capable, are found straying from home in search of what they cannot find at home. Do not wonder, then, good woman, and say you do not see where your children learn so many naughty things. You have done nothing to prevent it. Instruct them at home, fnrnish them the means of information and amusement at home, and you will find them attached to their home. You cannot rid yourself of the responsibility of training your children aright. They are given to yon, and they are yours to train for usefulness and respectability, and happiness. See, then, that as a parent, you discharge your dnty, and we shall soon cease to have our streets filled with rowdyism, profanity, vulgarity, &c, &c.

COLDS.

If a man begins to cough, as the result of a com[illegible] cold, it is the result of nature herself attempting the c[illegible] and she will effect it in her own time, and more effectu[illegible] than any man can do so, if she is only let alone, and [illegible] instincts cherished. What are those instincts? She [illegible] hors food, and craves warmth. Hence, the moment a [illegible] is satisfied that he has taken a cold, let him do three thi[illegible] 1st, eat not an atom, 2d, go to bed and cover up warm [illegible] warm room; 3d, drink as much cold water as he want[illegible] as much hot herb tea as he can, and in three cases ou[illegible] four, he will be almost entirely well within thirty[illegible] hours. If he does nothing for his cold for forty-e[illegible] hours after the cough commences, there is nothing tha[illegible] can swallow that will, by any possibility, do him any g[illegible] for the cold, with such a start, will run its course of a[illegible] a fortnight, in spite of all that can be done, and wh[illegible] swallowed in the meantime, in the way of physic, [illegible] hindrance and not a good.

"Feed a cold and starve a fever," is a mischievous f[illegible] cy. A cold always brings a fever; the cold never be[illegible] to get well until the fever begins to subside; but e[illegible] mouthful swallowed is that much more fuel to feed [illegible] fever, and, but for the fact that as soon as the cold is fa[illegible] seated, nature, in a kind of desperation, steps in and ta[illegible] away the appetite, the commonest cold would be follo[illegible] by very serious results, and in frail people would be alm[illegible] fatal. These things being so, the very fact of wai[illegible] forty-eight hours, gives time for the cold to fix itself in [illegible] system, for a cold does not usually cause a cough un[illegible] day or two has passed, and then to wait two days lon[illegible] gives it its fullest chance to do its work before anythin[illegible] all is done.—*Hall's Journal of Health.*

CHASTITY.

Switzerland, according to Miss Johnson, possesses an e[illegible] able reputation for this virtue: "In Bavaria, and some [illegible] er provinces of Germany, the illegitimate children are n[illegible] than the legitimate; in Wurtemburg the proportion is [illegible] in eight. In no Canton in Switzerland is it greater t[illegible] one in sixteen, and in some one in a hundred, and in oth[illegible] none at all." The Canton of Glaris, as she described i[illegible] a model for the Christian world; "A man who is guilty [illegible] adultery is branded by public opinion as a forger or bi[illegible] mist is elsewhere, and not eligible to any public office d[illegible] ing the whole of his life. The man who breaks his prom[illegible] of betrothal, or in any way betrays a women to mortif[illegible] tion and shame, is heaped with the same scorn as wo[illegible] receive elsewhere. The woman who is betrayed is [illegible] censured, but the man is henceforth an outcast. The [illegible] sequence is, that the falsehood and crime so common e[illegible] where, are here unknown."—*Northern Independent.*

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